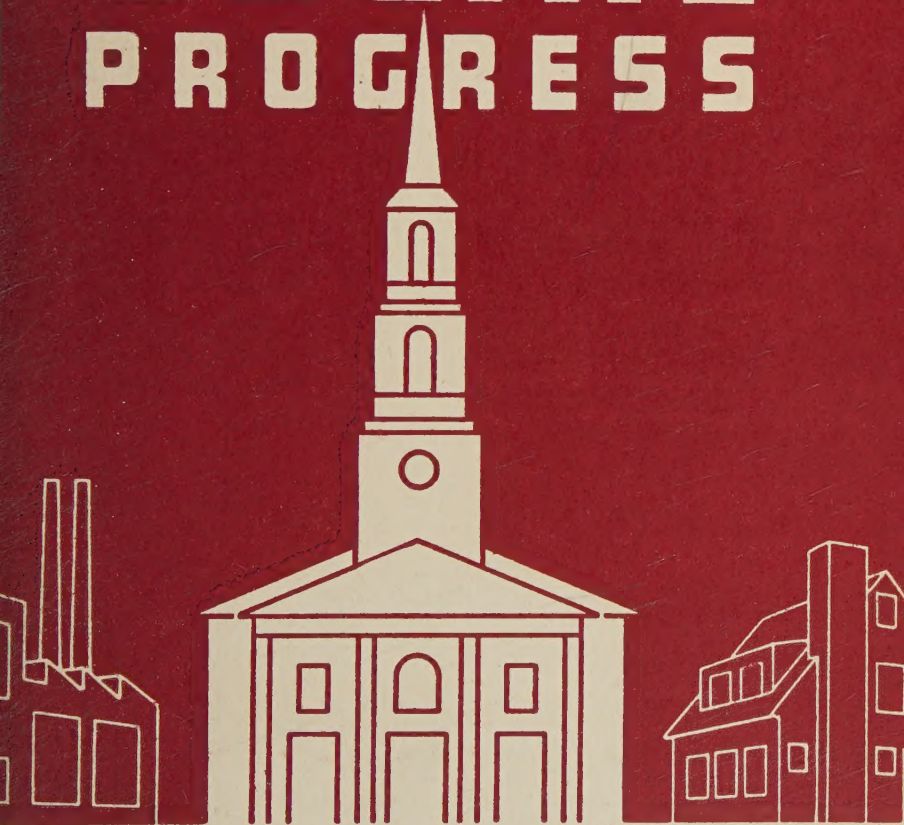


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Church Lead
Marshall Report
Critical View of Labor Relations

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Social Progress

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Let the Church Lead

A Message for Today*

In the following message the Church Federation of Los Angeles, California, has issued a call to rededication and action to the Churches in its area. We reproduce it here because Churches the country over may well heed its challenge in this crisis hour of peace.

AT THE beginning of a new season in the life and work of the church in Los Angeles, the Executive Council of the Church Federation is under deep conviction that there are critical issues before our people and the nation which are a challenge to the Christian message and to the leadership of the Church, and upon which there should be unity of purpose and action on the part of church leaders.

The Church must point the level of spiritual understanding and determination. We must be united in this task. To this end we propose that our Churches be diligent in lifting their voice on these issues and that they be set in the frame of great ethical and spiritual principles rather than as controversial political or economic questions. In the unity of our understanding and of our utterance may there be the power of the prophet. Let the Church lead. Our nation is at a major crossroad in its history. Former Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew has

said: "The war has clearly demonstrated the extent of our economic and our military power. What we do not fully understand is the extent of our moral and spiritual power among other peoples. . . . The tragedies of history are the tragedies of the misuse of power; . . . the decline of nations inevitably follows the possession of great power without the exercise of leadership." General Douglas MacArthur, in his victory speech from the U. S. S. Missouri, following the surrender of Japan, said: "A new era is upon us. . . . We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh."

It was a common fear of tyranny that drove us together to share a common purpose and out of it was

* Statement adopted by the Executive Council of the Church Federation of Los Angeles, October 18, 1945, and released to the Churches.

born a great spiritual vision that gave hope for the future.

It was a vision of "one world" and all that that means; it was a vision of the four freedoms for all mankind fostered by united working through the Charter envisaged at San Francisco; in domestic affairs it was a vision of full employment created by the co-operation of management, labor, and government working together for the interests of men and of nations; in the Christian Church it was a vision of the spirit and principles of Jesus being applied to all areas of personal and social life by a united world-wide Church of Christ. It was a great vision that gave meaning to the suffering which men were undergoing and transmuted the suffering into a mighty surge of hope for the future. It was a vision which issued very largely from the Christian message.

There are grounds for hope in this vision. There is time to work for it as the exhaustion of nations makes war highly unlikely in the near future. Ninety per cent of the people in the world desperately want peace, all the more now they fear the atomic bomb. There is a more widespread understanding of the causes of war and the road to peace than man has ever had before. There are twenty times more individuals and organizations working for peace now than were working at the end of the last war. There is the basic unity, good will, and potential understanding

created by world-wide Christianity and the World Council of Churches. There is the step toward world organization envisaged by the San Francisco Charter.

However, despite these grounds for hope, realism compels us to point out current trends that, left unchecked, may well destroy hope. We point out these facts in no spirit of pessimism but in the spirit of realism and Christian optimism. Realism demands that we face facts; Christian optimism sees the hand of God working beneath surface appearances and faith assures us that the blindness of men will never ultimately defeat the purposes of God. Our faith goes deeper than the facts of nations and cultures.

The desire to be optimistic must not blind us to the long view and to trends which if not changed will result in defeating the purposes of God. From this point of view we must be aware that the tides of selfishness and indifference are rising. The mood of contrition and penitence is giving way to a spirit of victorious self-righteousness. We see our nation seeking satisfaction by attempting to fix blame for all that has happened during the past few years upon those who are guilty of the obvious sins of barbarism, cruelty, mismanagement, or failure and by ignoring the universal sins of self-seeking pride, materialism, and blindness that really caused the war. Instead of "one world" we hear of the "in-

rests" and of "security" for individual nations. Instead of the four freedoms" the talk is about rights," boundary lines, and security bases of strong nations.

Mention of the San Francisco Charter is accorded a minor place in the news as though it were an accomplished success while the front page centers upon the nationalistic concerns of reconversion, the lifting of irksome controls and rationing, the bitter disputes over lend-lease operations, the avid hope that seeks to learn when the first bright shiny cars will be available and when we can get all the meat we want. Disappearing is the talk of labor-management co-operation as the attention of labor and management becomes centered on drawing the battle lines of a struggle over high versus low wages, irresponsible free enterprise versus social responsible enterprise, high versus low or no unemployment compensation.

Fading from the community is the spirit of voluntary self-giving that made us willing to share and to assume responsibility and to do hard work without pay because we saw

the need of pulling together to achieve a common goal. It was easy to find millions of dollars for war, but relief of ravaged peoples is not without reluctance. Personal and family morals have been set back; delinquency is increasing. In the Church our minds are centered on a new local building or the carefully planned enterprises of institutional denominationalism and only in passing is there much thought of a new expression of the spirit of Christ in world affairs.

All this is very natural and true to human nature. But it is all on the road back, the blind alley that has twice led us into war and chaos, and if followed again will lead inevitably to the suicidal war of the atomic bomb. To lose sight of the vision means going back to the moral blindness and spiritual poverty which provided the seedbed of totalitarian movements and the world war. The maintenance of the vision of a Christian world order and the development of the spiritual insight by which it will be made an actuality is our only hope now. We dare not fail.

A Call to All Christians

In this solemn hour let Christians exercise that leadership which is so desperately needed if nations are to be freed from the peril of a greater, perhaps final, holocaust. Let preachers proclaim from their pulpits the Gospel of God's redeeming and reconciling love and the demands of that Gospel upon the social conduct of mankind. Let laymen in their pews resolve that the Lordship of Christ shall be established in the life and work of the world.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Agenda Adjourned

A British View

This appraisal of the London conference, reprinted from Statesman and Nation, the internationally known London weekly, Sept. 29, 1945, indicates the British view of the interests and intentions of the United States and the Soviet Union.

THIS fantastic Conference of Foreign Ministers is ending. Its agenda still included many minor matters upon which disagreement could have been reached, but not apparently the great issues on which the life or death of society depends. The first of these was the control of the production of atomic bombs which, according to the highest scientific authorities, will be within Russian capacity in about two years' time and, before long, within the capacity of any industrial and scientifically equipped country. The other overwhelming issue on which a joint policy for the Great Powers was immediately essential was the economic disintegration of the world, and especially of central Europe. The conference, however, gave priority to other matters. . . .

Since men and women go on living and dying while great powers jockey for position, economic decisions are in fact taken even while they are not discussed. The Soviet Union, apparently assuming that the construction of rival and exclusive spheres of interest is the only possible policy, is rapidly gearing eastern Europe to Soviet economy.

She has concluded a treaty with Hungary by which Russia obtains 50 per cent participation in Hungarian industry, and an agreement with Austria which assures her royalty interest in Austria's oil supplies. At the same time millions of German refugees from Pomerania and Brandenburg are streaming over the new Polish frontiers into the rump of Germany, dying as they go and leaving behind them a desert once fertile and productive. In terms of history and shortsighted realism it is easy to explain, but not possible to justify, this pitiless sacrifice of Europe's life to the strategic interests of the U.S.S.R.

American policy is equally egotistic and, indeed in the Far East openly imperialist. Japan is regarded as an American base, to be exploited by United States business and maintained as a military asset. The Pacific islands are being developed as American naval and air outposts, and American imperialists are discussing the exploitation of the Asiatic mainland. The fact that the two Great Power blocs are already grabbing all the can, in exclusive concern with

their own strategic interests. Britain's position is not so plain. Soviet eyes we are linked with the Americans, and it is true that, when it comes to open dispute, as at this conference of Foreign Ministers, Britain's vote is apt to go with America's. But in fact we stand between Russia and America. We are European people, conscious of our economic and cultural ties with the continent and ready, if the Soviet Union would believe it, for co-operation with Russia in rebuilding Europe. The United States cares little about Europe, though Americans are increasingly impressed with the efficiency of German machinery and the prospect of acquiring her industries.

The main hope for the future was for Britain and the Soviet Union to develop with the liberated countries of Europe—all necessarily moving toward socialism—a common policy of economic welfare, with integrated transport and social services, for the whole continent. For that policy Russia has always been too suspicious, and Britain too lacking in constructive realism. On the vital question of Europe's waterways Mr. Bevin supported Mr. Byrnes's proposals, but Britain and America had ensured Russian suspicion of our intentions in the Danube valley by talking poppycock about political democracy in Balkan States, where the alternative to communist domination is a return to a White Terror.

The British people and, in particular, the new Labor Party will be hard to convince that there is no alternative to passively accepting the division of the world into rival Anglo-American and Russian blocks. In point of fact Britain is not part of the American zone, nor are British interests the same as American interests. At the moment all three powers are intriguing against each other in the Middle East—the ultimate key to power—and we in Britain are seeking a sphere within which the ancient democracies of western Europe can live without being crushed between the two colossal continental powers. Lord Halifax, Mr. Dalton, and Lord Keynes have spoken admirably for Britain in an attempt to explain to the United States that we intend, even at great cost, to maintain our economic independence.

Mr. Bevin, however, seems far too ready to continue the Churchillian policy of backing American ambitions in exchange for American support of an old-fashioned conception of British imperial interests.

We do not believe that the discussions on joint problems can be abandoned because the foreign ministers are now dispersing, but there will be hope of success for resumed talks only if Britain uses the interval to concert with the Dominions, the French, and the small democracies of western Europe a positive policy of rehabilitation.

The Marshall Report

By Charles G. Bolté *

The following article is important for several reasons: Mr. Bolté is a veteran of World War II and Chairman of the American Veterans Committee. In the early autumn an article appeared in The Nation in which Mr. Bolté advocated compulsory military training. Later, in the article "Post-atomic National Defense," appearing in The Nation, September 29, he repudiated his earlier position in light of the situation created by the atomic bomb. The article here presented takes an added significance because of President Truman's recent message in which he advocated compulsory military training, leaning heavily at several vital points on General Marshall's report.

GENERAL MARSHALL'S report on the winning of the war in Europe and the Pacific is a magnificent and informative account of the last two years of war. For that reason it should be read by every American with pride and no little sense of awe. It is also a partisan plea for a national defense policy which seems on careful study peculiarly unsuited to provide any real measure of security in the atomic age. For that reason it should be read by every American with caution and great reserve.

General Marshall's historical survey of the actual fighting occupies about two thirds of the book. Most of the next third is taken up with a summary of occupational policies, our weapons, and our troops. Finally there is a presentation of the chief of staff's views on the measures that should be taken for our common defense.

It is the historical section which is

the most impressive. Throughout it displays the clarity of mind, the grasp of essentials, the intellectual integrity, and the generosity of vision which have so distinguished General Marshall and assured his place in history as one of the very great American soldiers.

The report begins with the firm statement that "this nation can take little credit for its part in staving off disaster" in the early years of the war, and adds: "It is certain that the refusal of the British and Russian peoples to accept what appeared to be inevitable defeat was the great factor in the salvage of our civilization." This same realistic appreciation of facts, no matter whose nationalistic sensibilities may be wounded, marks the greater part of the historical survey. Marshall never claims too much and toward the end of the book, when he reveals how completely our man power was absorbed in war-making, he says: "Even with two thirds of the German army engaged in Russia, it to

* From *The Nation*, issue of October 20, 1945. Used with permission.

every man the nation saw fit to mobilize to do our part of the job in Europe and at the same time keep the Japanese enemy under control in the Pacific. What would have been the result had the Red Army been defeated and the British Isles indeed we can only guess. The possibility is rather terrifying."

His estimate of the mistakes made by our enemies is particularly interesting, and reveals time and again how close we were to defeat. It is apparent from the reports that our whole war was won by a series of calculated risks which paid off; one can feel only admiration for the planners who operated with such a narrow margin of safety.

Having told how we won the war, General Marshall explains how we will win the next one. We cannot expect proposals for achieving peace to come from the chief of staff. His job is to be a pessimist: to assume the worst and to prepare against it. Marshall says that atomic energy can destroy man. To atomic energy he adds new developments in other fields—aircraft, rockets, and electronics. He quotes from a special report prepared by General Arnold which describes only the weapons ready in existence, not their future possibilities; he adds, "The developments of the war have been so incredible that the wildest imagination could not project us far from the target in estimating the future."

Yet what is his answer? Universal

military training, with a trained reserve of four million men, so that "we can move armies of men into the enemy's bases of operations and seize the sites from which he launches his attacks." He urges military preparedness, with which there can be no argument; but having already demonstrated that this nation could not have won the recent war without the intercession of its allies and the mistakes of its enemies, he urges that "this nation be prepared to defend its interest against any nation or combination of nations." Having said that only twenty per cent of our armed forces was in the infantry, he asks for a civilian reserve of four million. Having explained that the next war will be fought with rockets or long-range aircraft delivering atomic explosives, he proposes a civilian reserve which will take a year to muster fully and which is to be moved "into the enemy's bases of operation."

He goes so far as to impute "ulterior motives" to those who oppose universal military training. We submit that his own report is the strongest argument against the proposal. It can only be assumed that the proposal stems inevitably from the two psychological failures of most professional minds—the tendency to go into the future armed with the decisive factors of the past and the tendency to support measures by which one makes one's bread and

butter. It cannot be assumed that a mind so embracing as General Marshall's is incapable of understanding implications of atomic energy; it must be assumed that that mind rejects the implications because the consequence of accepting them would be to undercut the ground on which the professional thinking of years has been based.

This is not an attack on the professional minds which have fashioned our victory and must fashion our future defense. It is simply another way of saying that war is

too important to be left to the generals, of pleading that the scientists and the civil authorities be given control over our main defense policies. General Marshall himself provides the answer to our central problem when he says that the recent war was "only a prelude" to what can be expected so long as there are nations on earth capable of waging total war." Generals must devise means of defense. But the least we can ask is that they devise means which are appropriate to the atomic age, not the gunpowder age.

Awareness

*If I hadn't stood in the market place
And seen man's greed contort his face,
And seen him steal, and cheat, and lie,
And fight to live and not know why,
I would have gone on without a care,
And never have known I was needed there.*

*If I hadn't traveled far and wide
Around and about the countryside,
I would never have known that there are some
Who work and slave till the day is done;
Who work for another to just get by—
Then see him get rich while they starve and die.*

*If I hadn't stood in the city square,
I would never have known I was needed there.
I would never have known that I can give
A part of my life to make others live.
I would never have known if I'd gone and hid;
If I hadn't opened my eyes.—But I did.*

—Cicely M. Davenport

* Written upon return from a Youth Caravan during the past summer. Miss Davenport is member of the Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

A Practical View of Labor Relations

*By James S. Crutchfield **

THE "priceless ingredient" of successful labor relations is a simple principle known to all students of the problem—a principle that may be said to apply equally well to all the difficult social, economic, and political questions with which we are currently concerned; namely, the principle of the Golden Rule. The record indicates rather plainly that the adjustment of conflicting points of view on the part of capital and labor is only possible when both parties approach the task with open minds, with a disposition to seek out the truth, with a will to compromise extreme positions, and with a deep sense of obligation to the public interest. Upon the assumption that the free enterprise system should prevail, a reconciliation of the conflicting views of capital and labor derives principally from the attitude and frame of mind of the parties involved, from their willingness—in language familiar to those who hold firmly to Christian convictions—to relate all finite problems to the basic oneness of human destiny in the sight of God. We deal here with a fundamental matter: when men come together to view their common

problems with right motives the major obstacle to a meeting of minds has already been hurdled.

That this principle has been far more honored in theory than in practice is all too evident. It is the common error of some people, and of some groups—all of us, perhaps, at one time or another—representing both employer and employee interests, to impute all manner of sinister purposes each to the other. It must be admitted that in some cases the record would seem to justify a good deal of skepticism. Labor has had to fight most of the way to its present position of influence and power, and has good reason for assuming that some of the employer groups are not entirely willing to concede that labor has every right to organize for the purposes of collective bargaining and security; that, indeed, the worker's collective strength is the only means of balancing the power which inheres in the control of our huge industrial establishments. Employers too can point to instances of abuse of power on the part of labor leaders and of failures to honor contractual obligations.

The more serious aspect of this matter of questioning motives, and of reading the record so as to support

* Organizer and President of the American Fruit Growers, Inc., from 1919 to 1939, and now Director; President of the Union Fruit Auction Company.

one's own point of view, concerns the manner in which appeals are made to prejudice, in an effort to place the opposing group at a disadvantage before the bar of public opinion. This has been an especially serious temptation to business interests since they have had, in pre-war days, more ready access to the newspapers and the radio. The labor leader too finds himself tempted to tell his followers what they want to hear rather than what the dictates of conscience and the public interest suggest.

An interesting example of mistaken opinion was revealed recently by Elmo Roper, public opinion survey expert for *Fortune* magazine, in his syndicated column to newspapers throughout the country. Mr. Roper conducted a spot survey in four of the largest industrial centers in the United States in an effort to measure the extent to which businessmen felt that strikes slowed down production schedules between Pearl Harbor and V-J Day. It was learned that 62.8 per cent felt that production had been slowed down by a month or more as a result of strikes, and 83.5 per cent were convinced that we would have been at least a few weeks ahead had labor indulged in no strikes during the period of the war. The facts in the case, however, as Mr. Roper points out, are considerably at variance with the opinions of most of our businessmen. Actually, all the man hours lost in strikes between

December 7, 1941, and August 1945, totaled less than four days of production time—or about the amount of working time made up by the sacrifice of the four Fourth of July holidays by most of our workers. Amid the present chaos of post-war economic adjustments it is clearly evident that in this vital field of labor-management relations the art of constructive statesmanship is in desperate need of cultivation. The first step on the part of the representatives of both labor and industry could well be the exercising of a large degree of self-criticism and self-restraint.

Emil Schram, president of the New York Stock Exchange, formerly head of the R. F. C. and a Presbyterian layman, said in a recent address: "During the last decade under a sympathetic Government many of the earlier goals of the workers have been recognized as a matter of law and a widespread appreciation of the human values of industrial relations has developed. Mr. Elmo Roper has made a survey designed to find out what labor really wants. After much processing of answers to a wide variety of questions it was found that labor principally wanted four things, the first of which was security—not the security provided by Government aid, but rather the right to work regularly at reasonably good wages in the employ of private industry. The second desire was for

ance to advance, to go from one job to a better job. The third is a more intangible desire and one which has frequently received too little consideration. It is a desire to be treated as a human being and not as a pay roll number. The worker wants the respect of his employer, his fellow workmen, and his neighbors. The fourth desire could be described as a social consciousness, confidence that he is doing a good job that needs to be done; a feeling that he plays an essential role.

"If the worker's aspirations which have mentioned are to be realized under the mass production system, as they should be, we must use our best leadership, both in the field of management and in the field of labor. The question is partly a moral one and it calls for spiritual leadership as well as industrial statesmanship. . . .

"I believe that this country has come to accept a permanent advance in the position of labor in our social and economic structure. . . .

"The public is increasingly impatient with the irresponsibility of certain labor leaders. The public, as labor will learn and as business has learned, is a hard taskmaster. Slowly, through the public ultimately imposes penalties for irresponsibility.

"As we are willing to recognize organized labor and extend to it rights and privileges under the law, we must organized labor accept its full stature under the law and under-

take those responsibilities which go along with rights."

The chief executives of business and labor organizations should get together frequently in a spirit of genuine friendship, with a desire to understand each other's viewpoint and problems, and with the determination to find the right answer to actual or threatened differences.

As expert economists, labor leaders must appraise the present and future business outlook and insist on sound wage and price-level policies. Business leaders should have a keener sense of the heavy responsibility resting upon labor executives who negotiate agreements that safeguard the very existence of millions of workmen and their families, as well as promote their future welfare. This calls for ability and statesmanship of a high order.

The prevalence of strikes in this enlightened age is evidence that the lessons of war have not yet been learned by business and labor. This is due in part to the fact that business executives have failed to recognize that the maintenance of good relations with their worker associates is or should be their chief concern. They should take the initiative in improving their relationship with the workers. Workmen, through their powerful unions, have political power far superior to, though not so dramatic as, the strike weapon. Strikes, like war, are self-destructive. In some instances the

effect is more harmful to workmen than to business, with the innocent public the chief victim.

The abuse of great power is a calamity to everyone. How to use it constructively is the big problem confronting powerful business and powerful labor organizations. As a nation we have demonstrated great skill in using our might destructively, notably in the development of the atomic bomb. We need to develop skill in using our might constructively for the human good.

There are times—and this period of reconversion from war to peace seems to be one of them—when we seem not to apprehend the nature of the crisis in which we find ourselves. It should be crystal-clear to all, following the most horrible war in all history, that our civilization is in deep trouble and that the manner in which we handle the acute problems abroad and at home during the next five years will indicate whether we are capable of providing an answer of sufficient scope for the crisis at hand.

It is our conviction that the free enterprise system is an essential part of a democratic society, but we must recognize that this view has been discarded by many peoples, including that oldest of living democracies, Great Britain. Our contention in this regard, therefore, is on trial. If we do not create in America through the free enterprise system a high degree of employment, a standard of

living progressively better for our citizens, an answer that seems relatively permanent to the vexing problem of the business cycle, and some solution to the problem of relations between capital and labor, then it will be evident, and in not too many years, that experiments along socialistic lines in this country will be unavoidable.

There is an important role that the Church can and ought to play in bringing about better relations between labor and capital, and bringing to bear upon its membership a greater understanding of the nature of such problems. The Church in its best is a servant of truth, and a bearer of good news about the abundant life. It is the job of the Church, as such, to prepare men for great social tasks, and to keep constantly before their minds the exceedingly practical teachings of Jesus on the proper manner in which we should conduct our relations, one with another.

No man committed to Jesus Christ and his Golden Rule can stoop to the corrupting of the instruments of public opinion, nor seek self-gain at the expense of the public interest. Nor can he be other than humble as he deals with the usually complicated and frequently explosive nature of human affairs. When a man comes to regard all men, as well as himself, as members of God's family, he may then be said to be ready to contribute something of lasting value.

Education for Peace

*By Minnetta A. Hastings **

EDUCATION has a role of the first importance to play in building the foundations of a just and lasting peace." So said Cordell Hull several years ago. Others have echoed that sentiment and have carried their beliefs into deeds. They believe that not only must education help to build the foundations of peace but that it must be used as an instrument for peace, generation after generation, and in each country, there is to be a positive peace in the world; and they know that machinery for this purpose must be set up to work in co-operation with all the other international agencies now coming into being or planned for the near future.

The Covenant of the League of Nations made no provision for international co-operation in educational matters but its importance was so well understood by many leaders that in 1921 there was set up, under the League, the International Commission on Intellectual Co-operation. The resources of this commission were limited, although its work was noteworthy in certain

areas which had little to do with the education of the common folks of the nations. To remedy this situation another organization came into being at Geneva in 1925—although not a part of the League—which was called the International Bureau of Education. Again the resources were totally inadequate to the work which should and could have been done. International conferences on education were held and these were of value, especially as they demonstrated the possibilities in co-operation. But because of the inadequacies of these organizations, in spite of excellent work done on a limited scale, there came to be a demand in this country and others for an agency which might be a force in creating international understanding through education.

We know now that during the '20's and '30's, when we were stressing friendship for other nations, the need of co-operation, and talking of "disarmament of the mind," we were all too often neglecting to instill a positive faith in our own way of life in children and youth. Far too many came to believe that nothing was worth fighting for. They did not know that our precious heritage of freedom must be closely safeguarded

* Mrs. William A. Hastings, member of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, President of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, a Consultant to U. S. Delegation to the San Francisco United Nations Charter Conference.

and constantly rewon if we are to keep it. The situation in the rising dictatorships was very different. Their leaders understood the importance of education, even of the very young, if their ideas were to become the accepted philosophy of their nations. Nothing was spared to make their young folks strong physically, deeply imbued with and fanatically loyal to the Fascist ideologies, and with the best that education could offer them—albeit a distorted education which is still an active poison at work in the world.

By the '40's there were a number of organizations at work in this country studying the possibilities of creating an international educational agency as soon as the war was over; at the same time the ministers of education of many of the occupied countries were living in London and conferring as to how to restore and reconstruct their educational systems as soon as possible. By the spring of 1944 these discussions had proceeded so far that the United States sent a delegation to meet with them in April of that year. These delegates took with them a tentative constitution for an educational organization, based on the thinking and discussion which had been going on here. This aroused great interest among other delegations and it was later sent to all of them for study and comment.

Since that time our Department of State has kept a representative in

London to work with the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education and to help in the joint planning, and home has conferred with educators and others deeply interested in the matter in an effort to get the widest possible range of thinking about it.

When the original Dumbarton Oaks Proposals were made public it was seen that they contained no reference to the place of education or cultural relations in the proposed world organization; in Chapter II there was this statement: "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the Organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

An Economic and Social Council was set up to carry out these purposes and it further stated that "the Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required."

The Department of State originated something new in the making of foreign policy when it invited representatives of forty-two organizations to attend the San Francisco Conference as consultants to the United States delegations. This group, representing a cross section of the organized interests of our national life, included a number

specially chosen for their interest in education. Needless to say these consultants worked together to secure the insertion of the words "educational co-operation" into the text of the Charter. There is a dramatic story of effort, temporary disappointments and setbacks, help from unexpected sources, an outpouring of public opinion to our own delegates, and then ultimate victory.

The final text of the Charter authorizes the General Assembly of the United Nations to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting "international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields."

In the Economic and Social Council the United Nations are pledged to promote "international cultural and educational co-operation."

One of the objectives of the Charter's trusteeship system is "to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories."

It was the combined effort of those consultants representing agriculture, business, and labor as well as education that resulted in the specific inclusion of the word "educational" in the Charter. These same consultants urged that provision be made for consultants at the international level to function in co-operation with the various bodies included in the membership of the Economic and Social Council. Ar-

ticle 71, the result of this effort, reads:

"The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with nongovernmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and where appropriate with national organizations after consultation with the member of the United Nations concerned."

This assures the people, through their organizations, the opportunity to present their views to their official representatives on the various commissions—a new procedure and a truly democratic one.

While the San Francisco Conference was still in session the Senate and the House of Representatives passed the Mundt, Fulbright, and Taft Resolutions urging the participation of the United States Government in the organization of a permanent international organization for educational and cultural affairs.

With the assurance that the United States was ratifying the Charter very promptly, there was increased effort to make the Educational Organization a reality as soon as possible, for its work is badly needed and needed now.

On August 1, 1945, President Truman announced that a meeting would be held in London beginning November 1 and at the same time a

(Continued on page 20)

For Tim

Six Months' Appraisal

Six months have gone by since the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco on June 26. This is a good time to take stock of the international situation.

On its organizational side, the United Nations has been making progress. The nations are joined in co-operation more points than at any other time in history. While not yet in operation the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund have been ratified by the United States and a growing number of other nations. In October the Food and Agriculture Organization came into being at Quebec. During November, in London, steps were taken in advancing an international education organization. The executive committee of the preparatory commission of the United Nations has been meeting during the fall, and its tempo of progress has exceeded early expectations. In these practical efforts to give body to the spirit of co-operation the United States has afforded strong support and help.

All this is to the good. It looks toward multilateral as against unilateral action for national security. It is building up the institutions of peace. But there is another side of the picture which should be faced with realism by us as citizens of the United States. It shows in the United States a nationalist trend, post World War II style. This is only a trend not yet hardened into rigid policy and practice, but it deserves careful scrutiny by every thoughtful Christian.

1. *Spheres of influence.* A list of the areas in the Pacific which we wish to hold as naval and air bases has been released by the Navy Department. No international arrangement is to impair our use and control of these. The firm insistence upon American domination of post-surrender Japan is a piece from the same cloth. This adds up, in appearance at least, to the fact that the United States aims toward making the Pacific a sort of American lake with the United States in control of much of its western as well as its eastern shores.

2. *Are we starting another armament race?* Congress has before it the proposal that our peacetime navy be fixed at a size greater than all the other navies of the world combined. In terms of the rough logic of our geographical position this is as understandable as Russia's maintenance of the "largest-in-the-world" army. But at this time, for us to launch out upon peacetime military conscription is a horse of another color. And when some leaders of our nation press for its early adoption instead of the

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policy embodied in the Martin Resolution, we are being urged down a path that is opposite to that taken by the United Nations Organization. The latter stands for collective security; the former stands for unilateral security. It is not too much to hope that the United States will first try the method of the Martin Resolution—the Security Council of the United Nations is available for this objective—before it considers the other. Throughout all the discussion leading up to the United Nations Organization the importance of its program of disarmament was emphasized in Christian thinking and statement.

3. *"Atomic isolationism."* The first two atomic bombs killed something like one hundred thousand people. Wrong attitudes and policies toward the future use of atomic energy will result in what Senator McMahon calls "the arms race to end all arms races" through mutual destruction. What are some of the prevalent attitudes displayed in significant quarters? (1) Many have assumed that it is a sign of divine favor that the "secret" of the atomic bomb was revealed to us and not to others, and in these "others" are included more than our enemies (the Russians, for example, some would add). Such an attitude may seem quite obvious to us, but to other nations it must seem gratuitous and even self-righteous. (2) There are many who hold that the most important matter before us is to carefully guard the secret for ourselves. Proposals that are being seriously urged have this intention. On the other hand, those closest to the process that led up to the discovery, such as the scientists and experts who helped to develop it, feel that the internationalization of atomic research and production is imperative at the earliest date possible. (3) It would seem that the least we might do would be to assure the world that pending the time when international control is worked out we would not add to the number of atomic bombs which we had upon the termination of fighting. No such word has been spoken; so other nations are warranted in assuming the opposite. This is anything but helpful in sowing the seeds of trust and co-operation. These and other factors have led a periodical, recently, to describe our policy as "atomic isolationism." Nationalism, in excess at any point, is dangerous, but when it would make captive atomic energy it threatens world-wide disaster.

We face a crisis. We have already set our feet on the road of international co-operation and collective security in promoting and joining the United Nations Organization. How far will we travel down that road?

Conflict in Palestine

*By Wendell Phillips **

LET us consider the real reasons Arab leaders are opposed to Zionism. I believe that there are probably three. The first is a certain psychological attitude which we might call Arab exclusiveness; the second is the economic situation which Zionism is likely to introduce into the Arab world; the third is the political aspect of the whole problem.

The first of these three, Arab exclusiveness, is the least important. It is an attitude which is encouraged in the people by their leaders. The average Arab is poor, badly housed, often desperately sick. He turns to his leaders and asks why. His leaders, unwilling to bestir themselves to better his lot, may simply say that such is the will of Allah. They may go a step farther and say that all the ills of the Arab are the result of foreign interference in Arab affairs. It has been said, with some accuracy, that this sort of attitude has developed into the only national policy the Arabs have, a policy of antforeignism, directed at the outside world and Zionism alike.

The second and more important reason why Arab leaders are against

Zionism is economic. We must remember that Arabia proper is a feudal state, or, perhaps more accurately, a medieval absolute monarchy. The small group in power has everything; the rest have nothing. The leaders—the emirs and feudal owners, the professional classes and clergy who benefit by serving them—are the recipients of whatever fruit the land bears. Between them and the masses there is a great gulf fixed which no one is interested in bridging. There is no concern about the poor. That is the business of Allah.

You may notice that I differentiate between Arabs and Arab leaders. Whenever anyone says to me, "But the Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine," I automatically ask "What Arabs?" There is no such thing as "the Arabs." I suppose the nearest thing to an Arab is the person who lives in Arabia. He is the poverty-stricken fellow we have just been considering. He is not against Zionism. He does not know what Zionism is. This is true of the millions of Arabs in most of the Arab world. Then there is the second group, the masses of Moslems in Palestine itself. We have seen how these have been blessed by the Jews, but we hear "The Arabs don't want the Jews in Palestine." "What Arabs?" The Arab leaders all over the Arab world

* Rector of Christ's Church, Rye, New York. Excerpts from an address before the Christian Conference on Palestine, October 16, 1945. Sponsored by the American Christian Palestine Committee.

the privileged group who have held all the economic power for centuries, and intend to keep it.

But a danger has loomed up. That danger is Zionism! For Zionism is improving the lot of the average man in Palestine. Zionism is concerned about a man's inherent rights, his body, his soul, his education, his health, his home, his family, his present and his future. Zionism is interested in the land and the people. Zionism is interested in democracy and even in the rights of labor.

These unorthodox ideas cannot be confined within the limits of Palestine, for such a gospel ignores geographic borders. Unless this heresy is stopped at birth it may spread over the whole Arab world. Almost every really important Arab leader hopes to become the head of Pan-Arabia. He needs the backing of every Arab. To do this he must have a rallying cry, and, "Down with Zionism," is a convenient formula.

Ultimate political opposition to Zionism stems from still another source: Important powers in Great Britain are against Zionism. All the facts we have discussed so far are insignificant compared to this one. The wishes of Arab leaders, the rights of the Jews, the productivity of the land, all these count as nothing beside the simple statement that certain important powers in Great Britain are against Zionism.

Why is Zionism a challenge to the empire? For the same reason that

it is a challenge to the privileged Arab leaders. Arab labor is cheap, whether it is building roads or airfields. Arab leaders are willing to give up their oil if paid literally. The eastern end of the Mediterranean is a moderately friendly place. Why should this nice balance be disturbed? Who can tell what might result if a highly developed state is allowed to come to life in the Near East? Suppose the Zionists set up a state that produces and manufactures. Suppose they show the way to the rest of the Arab world. Suppose the virus spreads around the life line to Egypt, Iran, Iraq, India, China.

You and I and the members of the civilized world have a moral obligation. It is our duty to allow the Jews to settle Palestine without any restrictions on immigration. We have promised it to them. We have given it to them. And then we have snatched it away! As the result of a legal agreement the Arabs received a territory as large as one third of the United States. The Jews were to receive about one per cent of that amount of land: the little country of Palestine. The Arabs got their land. The Jews got a promise: the Promised Land. We allowed them to go ahead with their plans. We allowed them to pour their lives, their efforts, their money, their dreams, their future into Palestine. We allowed them to begin to build, and then we closed the doors. Yes, we have a moral obligation.

Education for Peace

(Continued from page 15)

proposed draft constitution was released for consideration, in the same manner that the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals had been given to the public some months in advance of the San Francisco meeting for study and discussion.

The proposed constitution of the Educational and Cultural Organization of United Nations Organization begins with a preamble stating the high purposes of the organization and then follow articles relating to purposes and functions.

The principal functions of the proposed organization are many and varied: exchange of students and teachers; research of many sorts; exchange of publications; conferences; aid to countries that need and request help in developing their educational and cultural activities; but especially the function is to "foster the growth, within each country and in its relations with other countries, of educational, scientific, and cultural progress which give support to international peace and security."

Then follow articles pertaining to membership; to the Organs; to the establishment of national bodies representative of both governmental and interested nongovernmental groups to co-operate with the official delegates from each country; to the matter of relation of the Educational and Cultural Organization to the

United Nations Organization, and to other specialized International Organizations; and to technical details.

In the final session at San Francisco, Field Marshal Smuts, of South Africa, speaking of the United Nations Charter, said: "All the political and spiritual forces of our peoples should be mobilized behind this plan. . . . For this total mobilization of the human spirit for peace we must look to all who labor in the wider sphere of human advance—to the press, to the Church, the schools and universities, and to all intellectual forces, all the vast network of social and moral agencies which are the support of our civilization. The great imponderables must also be enlisted for peace."

Field Marshal Smuts has challenged, in this statement, all interested in the Church and in education. For to build co-operatively a new world order of positive peace and justice is a much more difficult and exacting task than uniting for war.

Our Government is doing everything in its power to give the citizen of the country the opportunity to share in creating a "people's peace." It is the first duty of all citizens—and especially Christian citizens—to shoulder the responsibility placed upon them.*

* For further reading in this important field see "Study and Action," page 32.

Adventures in Fellowship

*By Nevin Kendell **

A digest of the five group reports receiving awards in the annual Adventures in Fellowship Program, 1945.

YOUNG people are deeply concerned about the tensions and threats of violence between religious and racial groups in their communities. They feel a sense of responsibility. They want to do something constructive that will build bridges of friendship between these groups that differ in race, creed, or nationality.

The Adventures in Fellowship Program, started last year, is designed to guide and encourage those ambitions. Many different kinds of activities were suggested, and it was announced that, to each of the five Westminster Fellowship (Presbyterian young people's) groups that reported the most exciting and practical things done within a thirty-day period, would be awarded thirty dollars to send delegates to summer conferences, junior high camps, youth caravans, or work conferences.

Eighteen groups from eight different states sent in reports, and awards were given to the following: Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan; St. Cloud Presbyterian Church, West Orange, New Jersey; Grace Presbyterian and First Presbyterian Churches, both of

Chicago, Illinois; and the Farm School Presbyterian Church, Swannanoa, North Carolina.

The young folk of Detroit began their adventure by spending an evening with a group of Japanese-Americans who had recently come to the city. A few days later they visited a Jewish temple where they shared in a worship service led by Jewish young people. After the service the rabbi explained the traditions and customs of the Jewish people.

Next, the group invited an outstanding young Negro and his wife to meet with them on a Sunday evening. Their guest described some of the special problems that confront Negro young people in the city and, together, they discussed what each could do to improve race relations in Detroit. For their final event they visited a near-by Roman Catholic Church.

In West Orange the group began their program by making a careful survey. Then, having obtained information about intergroup relations in their community, they planned activities accordingly.

They invited a group of Negro young people from a Baptist Church in near-by Orange to join with them

* Fellow of the Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

in one of their Sunday evening programs. "The meeting was a gratifying success," writes the Christian Fellowship chairman. "The subject of race relations was not mentioned, and differences were forgotten in our concern for great Christian aims." At that same meeting plans were made for a joint retreat a few weeks later.

In an effort to get acquainted with Jewish neighbors the group invited a Jewish leader to meet with them and explain the meaning and purpose of their worship. Later they were "able to follow with interest and ease the various parts of the service" when they visited the Jewish temple.

Finally, the group set aside one entire meeting when they discussed these interracial and interfaith experiences, and tried to think through what these new friendships should mean in their personal and community life.

In Chicago there were two groups that received awards. The group at First Presbyterian Church devoted their adventure to fellowship with Jewish youth. The activities were planned by a joint committee of Jewish and Christian young people.

On a Friday evening the group from First Church attended the worship service at the temple, and later talked with the rabbi about the meaning of what they had seen. Later, a large group of Jewish young folk were guests at First Church. The minister showed them the sanctuary

and explained the purpose and meaning of the Christian symbols.

In the social hall a Palestinian Jewish girl led a foursome in the *hora*, a Jewish folk dance. Soon one hundred and fifteen young folks were captivated by the whirling rhythm and had joined in the fun. The closing circle brought handclaps of understanding and fellowship.

On Palm Sunday the group was led in worship and in the enactment of the Passion by a Jewish Christian minister. The events of Holy Week were portrayed with kodachrome pictures. "Then at a table set with linen and a golden cup to represent Elijah's cup, the Passion was relived by the Christian Jew who spoke earnestly of the fulfillment of the Passover that Jesus brought to each.

"The unleavened bread, the lamb, the egg, the bitter herb, the wine, each added to the meaning of the death and resurrection of Jesus, as seen through the eyes of this devoted son of Abraham."

The adventure ended with a showing of an appropriate sound film, *The World You Want to Live In*, provided by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

A group of Negro young people of Grace Presbyterian Church, Chicago, have undertaken to bring a maximum number of interracial experiences to fellow Presbyterian youth.

On four Sunday evenings they met with other groups, twice as hosts and twice as guests. Speakers on these

occasions were a Jewish lawyer, a Japanese-American minister, and a missionary who had served in China for twenty-five years. Each evening included a worship service planned and conducted by the young people and a social hour with games and songs and folk dances.

The biggest event was a youth rally sponsored by the Grace Church young folk, to which groups from five Churches were invited. In the afternoon the groups were taken on a tour of the Ida B. Wells Homes, a Federal Housing Project, where they visited the homes of some of the Negro young people. They talked with the manager of the project, who told them some of the tragic facts about housing in the Negro community, and pointed out that many of the people whose neat and well-kept homes they visited once lived in some of the worst slums of Chicago.

In the evening a hundred young people—Negro and white—enjoyed an old-fashioned potluck supper in the social hall at Grace Church, with all the usual songs and stunts and entertainment. Late in the evening everyone went quietly into the sanctuary where one of the visiting groups conducted a brief closing worship service.

The fifth adventure was carried out by the Christian Fellowship group at the Farm School Presbyterian Church.

They invited a group of Negro young people from the Allen Farm School to attend the Sunday evening vesper service and share with them a motion picture, *The Forgotten Village*. "It dealt with a young Mexican who wanted something better for his community, as we do for ours." Then, together, in an hour of social Fellowship, they laughed and talked and sang—"in the informal spirit of young people who know and understand each other."

The group also formed an International Relations Club, and interested persons from two Negro schools were asked to join. Each school took its turn at being host.

Probably the high point of all the events was the presentation of a play, *We Call It Freedom*, by Dorothy Clarke Wilson. "The heroine of the play was a sensitive and well-educated Negro girl forced to do housework because discrimination had barred her from a fine laboratory position for which she was amply qualified."

They had asked a Negro girl to take the part, and white people heard from Negro lips the pain and the resentment of discrimination. "No sermon could have told us like that," remarked one of the group. The white members of the cast learned about discrimination in another very practical way when Virginia was unable to attend several rehearsals. "We had always known that the bus drivers often do not bother to stop for Negroes, but when it was Virginia instead of just another Negro we suffered with her."

On Brotherhood Sunday the Farm School Church had in its pulpit the "distinguished Negro dean of the Theological Department at Lincoln University, Dr. Jesse V. Barber."

In the evening the Negro choir from Allen Farm School was invited to present a program of Negro spirituals. "Then after the service all of us gathered for a social hour. And we honestly felt that much as we loved to listen to the songs sung by a Negro choir it was more heart-warming to sit down around the blazing fireplace and sing them together."

The Adventures in Fellowship Program, which is being repeated this year, was sponsored by the Office of Summer Conferences and the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education, co-operating with the National Conference of Christians and Jews. A great many groups of Presbyterian young people are already planning similar projects to be carried out within the next few months.*

* For further information about the current Adventures in Fellowship Program, write to Office of Summer Conferences, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT

The United Nations Organization is no longer something that lies in the future. As of October 24 it exists as a fact. It is now "the law of the nations" according to Secretary of State Byrnes. As the United States of America was the first nation to deposit its membership on August 8, so Russia's deposit was the 29th, the number necessary to bring the United Nations Organization into being.

On April 25 the United Nations Conference was convened, thus ending the question, "Will it meet?" On June 26 the United Nations Charter was signed, thus ending the question, "Will the Conference succeed?" On July 29 the American Senate acted favorably on the Charter, thus ending the question, "Will the United States ratify it?" And on October 24 Russia's action ended the question, "Will the Charter be followed by an organization?" Such are the steps along the way.

It is safe to say that October 24 caught many leaders and members of our Churches unprepared for what that day means. As a Church, we have not yet come to know what is in the Charter. We have not come to understand what are the responsibilities and obligations assumed by the United States as a member of the Organization. We have not as yet evaluated in the light of the principles of our Christian faith what is needed to strengthen and extend the adequacy of the Organization to deal with a world of atomic energy.

This lack is of the utmost importance, for it is difficult, if not impossible, to match the promise that lies in the existence of the United Nations Organization if on our part we have little knowledge and understanding. Our testing is but in its beginning. We shall be even more tested when the General Assembly meets, most likely on December 8, for organizational purposes. We shall be tested further when

the General Assembly meets in full functioning, presumably in April. We shall be growingly confronted, not with a theory, but a fact, as the other agencies of the United Nations meet and undertake their tasks, such as the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Trusteeship Council. For a few months only we will have the opportunity to lay a foundation of study in preparation for the time when the United Nations Organization will again call for Christian action.

The World Order Movement recommends the following:

1. In those presbyteries where a world order conference was held last year in study of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, a follow-up conference should be held to study the United Nations Charter which is now the document before us.

2. In other areas a presbytery or area conference should be held on "The United Nations Organization: Its Charter and Its Members." The World Order Movement is ready to co-operate with such presbyteries in financial and other ways.

3. In each local Church a period of study should be planned dealing with the Charter and membership in the United Nations Organization, in general, or with one of its aspects of special importance, namely, the Trusteeship Council which concerns the responsibility of the United Nations for colonial and other nonself-governing peoples.

4. The widest possible dissemination is desirable of the two pamphlets *World Order Movement, 1945-1946* and *United Nations Charter* in presbytery-wide meetings. Under such circumstances the World Order Movement is prepared to make these available without charge.

Let us go forward into the new situation created by the United Nations Organization as a fact with Christian understanding and action.

POLITICAL ACTION

Universal Military Training

At this writing President Truman has just called on Congress to pass legislation making compulsory military training a part of our national policy. The consensus is that Congress will not act at once but will wait public reaction.

First and foremost, Christian citizens should earnestly consider support of the Martin Resolution. Introduced into Congress last spring this resolution commits our nation to an essentially international path of action; that of calling on all nations in the United Nations Organization to abolish compulsory military service.

If this succeeds, as it may well with God's blessing, we need no universal military training. If this fails, then we can face an alternative plan. See SOCIAL PROGRESS, September, 1945, pages 29, 30.

Secondly, Church members must carefully and prayerfully consider all the issues involved. Public opinion is now divided. The Department of Social Education and Action has available guidance material. Write in for it and organize for creating an informed group who can and will register Christian convictions.

There is time for mature deliberation. The present law is in effect until May 15, 1946. Young men are now being called and trained. By April we shall know much more about the world situation, about other nations' reactions to the Martin Resolution, about our commitments under the United Nations Charter, and about our own informed convictions. We are still under duration conditions. Objective, long-range planning is difficult. This issue is too vital for snap judgment. The last time the present law had to be renewed, a few weeks were sufficient. The readers of this material will have three months to form convictions and let Congress know how they feel on this matter. In addition to your own Senators and congressman, write to: The Hon. Edwin Johnson, Acting Chairman, Senate

Military Affairs Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and also to: The Hon. Andrew J. May, Chairman, House Military Affairs Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Personal letters do count—they are counted!

The Full Employment Bill—S. 380; H.R. 2202

In September the Senate, by a vote of 71 to 10, passed the Full Employment Bill with some amendments which, according to Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, an informed friend of labor, did not seriously weaken the bill. Hearings on the Full Employment Bill followed immediately before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, Representative Carter Manasco, Democrat, Alabama, chairman. The bill is still in committee and liberal Congressmen of both parties are striving to get it out of committee and on to the floor of the house. One hundred and fifteen Congressmen have become co-sponsors of H.R. 2202.

The Future of UNRRA

The urgent need at this writing is for Congress to authorize the payment of our second installment due to UNRRA. Originally our country pledged one per cent of the national income for 1943, as a basis of its support to UNRRA and we have paid all of that except \$550,000,000 now due as this material goes to press.

General Eisenhower is the authority for the statement that there can be no peace in Europe without food. It is true that we do pay, in co-operation with thirty other nations, a large proportion of the budget which supports UNRRA. We do pay seventy-one per cent of the budget of UNRRA; but that is still only one per cent of our national income. Public opinion in America ought to make it abundantly clear to our legislators that it is our will that we share with the needy in Europe from our abundance here.

Sanctuary

For Christ Was Born

Meditation Before Worship:

Thou who art the Light which lighteth every man, . . .
Come to each of us at this Holy Season
In our pride of position, or name, or achievement
In our selfish grasping for more than our share
In comfort, in tension, in torment for our day
In robust courage, in shrinking cowardice
In desolation or desertion or defeat
In humility, in love or hate or hopelessness
In faith or fear, in favor or disfavor,
Come to our hearts.
As once Thou came'st on winter's night
To gentle Mary's heart
And to the heart of all the world,
Be born again in us.

—George Stewart.

Call to Worship:

Leader: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given;
And the government shall be upon his shoulder:
And his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor,
Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.
Of the increase of his government . . . there shall be no end."

Response: "Glory to God in the highest,
And on earth peace among men."

A Prayer of Invocation:

O God, who blessed our earth with a vision of thy love in the form of a little Child who sent to rebuke earth's selfishness a humble Man to go about doing good and to speak the words of life; who revealed thyself, the Conqueror of evil, in One the weapons of whose warfare were deeds of kindness and mercy, graciously grant us the Christmas power as we remember him. Fill our hearts with the gladness of his coming. Teach us the enduring joy of his service. Lead us into the Christmas peace which passeth understanding, the peace of Christ. Amen.

Hymn Response:

O holy Child of Bethlehem, descend to us, we pray;
Cast out our sin, and enter in, be born in us today.
We hear the Christmas angels the great glad tidings tell;
O come to us, abide with us, our Lord Emmanuel. Amen.

A Litany for These Times:

God of all life, gracious, patient, and compassionate, who hast begotten us in thy love, who wouldst have us also love one another;

Grant that as children of one Father men may dwell together on the earth. Amen.

In our hours alike of leisure and of labor; in our ministries of mercy; in the service we render through our several occupations; in whatever clash of interests threatens our peace;

Grant that as servants of one Lord men may dwell together on the earth. Amen.

In the commerce of race with race, men of divers colors, creeds, and tongues; in the counsels of the nations, the barriers dissolved, of ignorance and pride and fear;

Grant that as brothers of one blood men may dwell together on the earth. Amen.

In our homes and houses of worship, fields and factories, workshops and markets; in our pursuit of knowledge and beauty; in the laws we write and the unwritten laws which bind us still more firmly; in word and deed and thought;

Grant that we may bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ. Amen.

O Lord our God, our King of old,
Whose might Thy works declare,
Our need in pity now behold,
In mercy hear our prayer. Amen.

—John J. Moment.

Prayers for Today:

O God our Father, who didst send Thy Son to be King of Kings and Prince of Peace: Grant that all the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdom of our Lord, and earn of Him the way of peace. Inspire all men continually with the spirit of unity and concord. Let those who are offended forgive, and those who have offended repent, so that Thy children may live as one family, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Father of mercies, we commend to Thee the poor, the cold, the hungry, the lonely, and those who have no helper. So move the hearts of those to whom Thou hast freely given all things, that they also may freely give; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O God, who in Thy providence hast appointed to every man his work: We humbly beseech Thee to put away all strife and contention between those who are engaged in the labors of industry and those who employ their labor. Deliver them from all greed and covetousness, and grant that they, seeking only that which is just and equal, may live and work in brotherly union and concord, to Thy glory, their own well-being, and the prosperity of their country; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

We beseech Thee, O God, to be favorable unto our land; and to the President of the United States and all others in authority, that it may please Thee so to rule their hearts that they may rightly use the trust committed to them for the good of all the people.

—From The Book of Common Worship.

Come among us, O Son of man, in thy glory, and gather the nations before thee. So shall thy righteousness judge our sin, thy strength our weakness, and our wayward thoughts be measured by thy truth. Amen.

—John Wallace Suter.

The Workshop

It is the purpose of these pages to report interesting, practical, and useful projects in areas of social need or conflict. These will include: (a) reports of activities already projected or successfully concluded by Church groups, either alone or in co-operation with other Church or community agencies, and (b) suggestions of problems demanding the interested attention and action of Christian citizens together with recommendations of appropriate projects or activities which Church groups may well initiate and carry through or accomplish in co-operation with other groups.

Building the Future for Youth.

Persons who are interested in the President's program for compulsory military training, because they see in it something to do with our youth, should study the positive program which has been developed by the National Commission on Children in Wartime. This is an advisory committee of the U. S. Children's Bureau. This program has been embodied in legislation by Senator Claude Pepper in S.1318.

What to Do. Write U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington 25, D. C., for publication 310. Write Honorable Claude Pepper, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and ask for a copy of his introductory remarks to the Senate on this bill.

Church Women Sew and Share.

The Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction has a Material Aid Department, headed by Helen Perry Curtis, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10. The work of this committee supplements that of UNRRA and the Red Cross, and differs from National Clothing Collection in that it is a continuous program. Church women are urged to recondition, locally, all articles before shipping, as well as to make new articles from salvage material. Disposition is made through Church centers abroad and in no way overlaps that of any other national program. This committee has the approval of the President's War Relief Control Board. Clothing,

shoes, and bedding are urgently needed.

What to Do. Write the above address for full information and directions. One women's group, who sews regularly for Europe, spends the first ten minutes of their time together in writing letters to Washington officials regarding appropriations for UNRRA.

Cattle to Europe. One hundred and fifty Holstein heifers are being sent to Poland by UNRRA as a contribution from the Church of the Brethren. They will be used to augment the pitifully small milk supply now available there for hospitals and nursing homes.

This is the second donation of livestock received from the Brethren Service Committee. The first gift of six purebred Brown Swiss bulls was shipped to Greece last May. They are now being used in an artificial insemination project carried out co-operatively by the Near East Foundation, UNRRA, and the Greek Government.

UNRRA has sent or procured 14,900 head of livestock for the devastated countries receiving its aid. "The gift of animals included in these numbers are a direct extension of help from farm people here to the people of Europe. It is the kind of help they need and want most—help to help themselves," said Lehman.

Forum on Industrial Relations. Five hundred ministers and laymen of the Presbytery of Philadelphia attended

panel and forum Tuesday evening, October 16, on the subject "What Has the Church to Say on Industrial Relations?"

The program was sponsored by the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and the following men were members of the panel:

John G. Pew, Jr., Presbyterian layman and vice-president in charge of personnel of the Sun Shipbuilding Company, representing management.

John Ramsay, Presbyterian layman and CIO's organizer; and James L. McDevitt, resident of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and Roman Catholic layman, representing labor.

S. Howard Patterson, professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania and a Presbyterian layman, represented the public.

Rev. T. Guthrie Speers, pastor of Brown Memorial Church, Baltimore, Maryland, represented the ministry.

Rev. Rex S. Clements, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Bryn Mawr, Pa. resided at the meeting.

At the beginning of the meeting each member of the panel was introduced and was asked to make a brief general statement; then the panel members addressed questions to each other; and finally, members of the audience were given opportunity to make comments and ask questions of the speakers.

There was no unanimity of opinion among the panel or audience, either before or after the meeting. But the discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of complete candor and every point of view was given expression.

The underlying philosophy of the program was voiced by T. Guthrie Speers, when he asserted that industrial relations, indeed, every area of life, must be governed by Christian principles, and must, therefore, be the subject of consecrated thought and study on the part of Christian citizens.

He stressed the importance of accurate information, and urged that every person check his stereotypes, the pictures he carries about in his mind of union leaders, workers and bosses, and discover whether these pictures are accurate or false.

World-wide Communion and Race Strikes. On the day before World-wide Communion Sunday twenty Protestant ministers announced, through a large advertisement in *The Chicago Sun*, October 6: "Tomorrow we break bread—but we are sore troubled."

In two Chicago schools and in one school of Gary, Indiana, minor incidents between Negro and white students had resulted in "strike action" by white students who objected to Negroes attending "their" schools. The ministers pointed to those incidents and observed:

"Tomorrow Protestant people across the world will observe the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This world-wide observance is symbolic of our spiritual unity and our common fellowship in Jesus Christ.

"This unity and this fellowship in Christ recognize neither race nor nationality but proclaim to all our oneness in Christ.

"However, as Protestant Christians in Chicago and Gary observe this historic and meaningful Sacrament, our hearts will be sore troubled. Some of our Christian people, both young and old alike, by their recent "strike action" in a few of our high schools, have denied the "brotherhood" we witness to by the breaking of the bread and the drinking of the cup. . . .

"As Christian clergymen we urge the youth of our high schools, and their parents, to stand up forthrightly for the rights of ALL AMERICANS, regardless of race, color, or creed. . . .

"We call upon the Protestant community to preserve its own integrity as a body of Christian believers, and as citizens of a Christian nation."

About Books

The Church and Demobilization, by J. Gordon Chamberlin. Abingdon-Cokesbury. \$1.00.

The Church is face to face with its responsibility in the far-reaching task of demobilization and Mr. Chamberlin is unusually well equipped to help Churches to understand what that job is and what aspects of it particularly come within its scope of activity and service. The author's equipment, which fits him to understand and advise, includes administrative experience in two large city Churches; direction of young adult work with the Methodist General Board of Christian Education, with special responsibility for demobilization planning; work in relation to demobilization with the International Council of Religious Education and the Federal Council of Churches.

The author's purpose as he states it is to help the Church to see the whole problem of demobilization and define clearly its own task; to understand the principles and the practical methods that may be employed; and to recognize the task not as a short-term project but as the beginning of a relationship that will require continued understanding and effort for years to come.

Carrying out this purpose the book's six chapters discuss: (1) *Demobilization* and the wide range of problems involved in it. (2) *Employment* as a first essential in the readjustment of the veteran to civilian life. (3) *Community reintegration*. (4) *Keeping Church ties*: the picking up of the strands of Church life, of membership in Church groups, of worship experience, and all the other relationships and activities that make up the Christian fellowship. (5) *The Church's growing edge*—not the change of the Church's program simply to attract returning veterans; but the constant renewal and strengthening of its purpose and program and the

development of churchmen to serve within it. And finally (6) *a permanent concern*—the Church must not be lavish in its concern today and forgetful tomorrow. The Church must remember and, remembering, offer to its returned veterans a continuing service whatever their needs. E.G.R.

Politics and Morals, by Benedetto Croce; translated by Salvatore J. Castiglione. Philosophical Library, New York \$3.00.

In this book the distinguished Italian social philosopher reveals his dynamic conception of liberty, liberalism, and the relation of individual morality to the state. Running through these essays is an emphasis on immanent idealism as opposed to transcendentalism. Political action is "any action which is useful" and is amoral. The state is "nothing but a series of useful actions performed by a group of persons or by individual members within a group. Liberty and authority are correlative and necessary to each other.

He distinguishes between democracy and "equality" and finds the latter a meaningless abstraction from reality. What matters is not abstract forms but the men who make up the state. "The real problem is not how to be a good liberal, a good conservative, a good socialist, or a good radical, but how to act in certain given circumstances in a manner suitable to reality, which is neither radical nor socialist nor conservative nor liberal."

In discussing "Contrasting Political Ideals After 1870" the author declares that the fundamental problem of our time as of all times is religious and "not a matter of inventing a new religion, . . . but of making ever stronger and more profound the existing religion." He is not talking about revealed religion, however

ut what "once used to be called labors of natural religion" but which he prefers to call "historical religion."

Croce lends encouragement to those interested in preserving the spirit of free enterprise when he declares that the theory has not been refuted but made "more profound, more vital in spirit though not in matter." Difficulty arises in exalting principle to an illegitimate place as an ethical theory. He finds that philosophical idealism, "which is one with the liberal concept of life, . . . has arisen again in recent decades, stronger than before, . . . and everywhere it is regaining domination in the world of thought."

In the unending conflict between church and State the Church is perpetually correcting and preserving the State. In international affairs, he declares, the moralist should continually work to bring about justice rather than to try to change the nonethical character of the State.

In a final essay he offers an antidote for the historical pessimism which has overshadowed much of Western civilization. This seems to boil down into something like, "Don't cross bridges before you come to them."

This book is not easy reading. It will be most rewarding to those who bring to it a background of philosophy and history.
—GEORGE W. KIEHL.

My Country, by Russell W. Davenport. Simon and Schuster. \$1.00.

Taps Is Not Enough, by Carl Carmer. Henry Holt. \$1.00.

On a Note of Triumph, by Norman Corwin. Simon and Schuster. \$1.50.

Those to whom the poet speaks with clearest clarity and insight will find these three slender volumes exciting reading, stimulating to a more dynamic concept of peace and our part in it.

My Country is a "song of freedom,"

written by the young managing editor of the magazine *Fortune* who threw in his lot with Wendell Willkie in the stirring campaign of 1940.

He pictures America as incarnating the homely virtues of courage, energy, love of freedom, love of men, but he sees us too making of our "bright incredible machines" "the goddesses of mind, of space and time," and, losing God, "Let us search, then," he cries, "lest we miss God [and] fail to see him."

"Not peace, not rest, not pleasure—but to dare

To face the axiom of democracy:

Freedom is not to limit, but to share;

And freedom here is freedom everywhere."

Taps Is Not Enough is a dialogue in verse written by Carl Carmer for broadcasting at the height of the great drive through Germany. To the Unknown Soldier of World War II and the things that, consciously or unconsciously, he fought for, the voices of the woman who loved him and the soldier who fought beside him pay loving and understanding tribute. Pompously and impatiently the realist interrupts:

"Let's not be dramatic . . .

These men were heroes, and I love their memory . . .

Blow taps for him—then turn to our old ways."

But the soldier comrade answers:

"Taps is not enough when that is all . . .

We paid in the bright currency of life . . .

We have bought the right to ask, right to demand of you

To keep the faith that men shall one day live as brothers

And nations, too, throughout a peaceful world."

Norman Corwin's *On a Note of Triumph*, the last of this trilogy, also is the translation of a radio work, for V-E Day.

A young soldier lies in his bunk in the barracks in Europe, his hands behind his head, thinking things over on V-E night. "If you don't mind," he says, "there are some things we guys would like to know;

His questions are answered in pages of graphic description that asks searching questions and answers them with penetrating insight.

The closing lines sum up the message: "Peace is never granted outright: it is lent and leased.

You have to plan as well as pray:

You have to give as well as take . . .

There's a homely maxim out of London says it:

The duration's goin' to be a lot longer than the war, guv'nor."—E.G.R.

Study and Action

Peacetime Conscription

Compulsory Military Training, The Pro and Con. *Social Action*, September 1945. 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. 15 cents.

Conscription for Peacetime? article by Hanson Baldwin in *Harper's*, March, 1945. For reprint write: Post War Council, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

Sourcebook on Peacetime Conscription, by Theodore Paullin; history, statistics and typical arguments pro and con. *Order from* American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 25 cents.

Shall We Have Peacetime Conscription? by E. Raymond Wilson. *Social Progress*, September, 1945. (Consult your Church file.)

World Order

United Nations Charter—Basis for World Community. Free.

Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action. Free.

World Order Movement—1945-1946. Free.

Christian Political Action for World Co-operation. A listing of the United States Senators and Representatives by states, and of the major Congressional committees. For use of Church groups in political action. Free.

Order from WORLD ORDER MOVEMENT, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, P.

The Atom Bomb and the Future—Information Service. *Order from* Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y. 10 cents.

The United Nations Charter, Potsdam Declaration, Bretton Woods Agreements. *International Conciliation*, September, 1945, Sections 1 and 2. *Order from* Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York 2, N. Y. 10 cents.

Films on UNRRA and Related Subjects. Write for list. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 1344 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 25, D.

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Only by Understanding. Education and International Organization. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. **25 cents.**

Education at the UNO. American Council on Education, Bulletin 87. *Order from* American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C. **25 cents.**

Proposed Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations. Publication 2382. *Order from* The State Department, Washington, D. C.

Labor and Industry

The Church and Industrial Relations. Report of the Department of Social Education and Action. **10 cents.** *Order from* any Presbyterian Book Store.

Full Employment Kit, 1945. A leader's guide, including analysis of the Murray Bill and pamphlets from A. F. of L. and CIO's. *Order from* Union for Democratic Action, 9 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. **50 cents.**

THE MEANING OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE by Lynn Harold Hough—A brilliant interpretation of the distinctively human which challenges man to be fully himself. \$3

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